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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520  
December 9, 1994

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DECL: OADR

TO: AF - Mr. Moose

THROUGH: AF - Ms. Bushnell *RB*

FROM: AF/C - Arlene Render *all*

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Rwandan Vice President and  
Minister of Defense Paul Kagame, Tuesday,  
December 13, 3:00 p.m.

1. PARTICIPANTS AND PURPOSE

Vice President Kagame is in Washington at the invitation of the Defense Department. He is accompanied by Health Minister Joseph Karemera. This is Kagame's first visit to the United States since the installation of the coalition government in July following the military victory of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). We expect that he will want to focus his meetings on the GOR's urgent need for resources to support basic governance, including military aid. He may also press for the lifting of the UN arms embargo against Rwanda.

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We should reiterate our intention to assist the GOR and note in particular our plans to help pay off Rwanda's World Bank arrears and provide basic equipment to Justice and other key ministries. In turn, we should remind the GOR that continued assistance will depend on concrete progress by the GOR in several key areas, such as unimpeded access to all areas of Rwanda for UNAMIR and UN human rights monitors and creating conditions that will favor refugee return. We also expect the GOR to uphold the basic principles of Arusha, including a broadly based government, military integration, and respect for human rights.

We are providing equipment to UNAMIR for a radio station to promote voluntary repatriation efforts, and we should ensure that the GOR follow through on its pledge to grant UNAMIR the necessary permission to broadcast. Although the GOR voted against the establishment of the International Tribunal on Rwanda (ITR), they have indicated their intention to cooperate with the ITR. We should encourage this and urge the GOR to publicly support the work of the Tribunal. The RPA has used force to close at least one camp for internally displaced. We should urge the GOR to reject the option of force and encourage it to work with the UN and relief agencies to facilitate an orderly, peaceful, and voluntary return of the displaced to their homes. We should assure Kagame that we are working

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closely with the UN, other Security Council members, and Rwanda's other friends to address the serious insecurity in the refugee camps which threatens the stability of Rwanda and its neighbors.

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Before your meeting, Kagame will see U/S Tim Wirth (with A/S Shattuck and A/S Oakley), and perhaps AID Administrator Atwood. He will also have met with SecDef Perry and NSA Lake. The delegation will be accompanied by Rwandan Charge Mutaboba. Kevin Aiston and I will sit in on your meeting.

### Talking Points

#### Future Assistance

- We are committed to assisting Rwanda in creating conditions inside the country that will facilitate refugee return. Through an informal "friends" group, we have also sought to encourage and coordinate other donor assistance.
- As you know, we are planning to provide \$2.5 million to help pay off your government's arrears to the World Bank. We are also funding basic equipment for the justice system and intend to assist key ministries in restoring basic services inside Rwanda.
- In all humanitarian disaster, relief aid far outstrips development aid. Emergency relief funds and development funds are not interchangeable. This does not in any way suggest that the international community is seeking to make a political statement or to favor one or another group.

#### GOR Performance/Arusha Principles

- We welcome your government's agreement to name a point person on human rights and to allow free access for UNAMIR and human rights monitors as a condition for our assistance.
- We also welcome your government's stated commitment to the principles of Arusha. For the donor community to be fully responsive, your government must continue efforts to broaden the government's base, establish an integrated army, and assure respect for human rights.
- We know you are working to absorb acceptable elements of the ex-FAR. We consider this very important to overall reconciliation and would like to know how the effort to create an integrated, truly national army is progressing?

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Cooperation with the UN and Tribunal

- UNAMIR and the UN human rights monitors can help reassure refugees that it is safe to return. We urge your government to give these operations its full support and grant radio broadcasting authority to UNAMIR.
- The planned UNAMIR radio station can reinforce these efforts. Prime Minister Twagiramungu told me that the GOR would grant this station broadcasting authority. Has this been done?
- We were concerned by the recent violence associated with the RPA's forcible closure of a displaced camp in the southwest, and by the recent order that expatriate drivers of certain NGO's (Solidarite and Equilibre) serving the camps must leave the country.
- We urge you to work with the UN and relief agencies in a planned fashion to ensure the peaceful, orderly, and voluntary return of the displaced to their homes.
- We understand the serious problem you have dealing with arrests and detentions of those suspected of genocide and atrocities. We commend you on the free access you have granted to prisoners.
- We encourage steps which will minimize the likelihood of unjustified arrests and will help assure humane prison conditions.
- The problem of land tenure, if unresolved, could be the seed for more unrest and violence. We urge you to establish mechanisms and enact necessary legislation to address this issue. We welcome your views on what the government is doing in this regard.
- We understand you also need to re-establish your civilian police force. We know the UN is helping to train gendarmes and would be interested to know how this program is progressing. How are the new trainees being deployed now?
- We welcome your government's intention to cooperate with the International Tribunal. We know your government wants full accountability, and your full cooperation with the work of the Tribunal is crucial to this goal.

Political Reconciliation/Democratization

- Your stated commitment to the Arusha accords needs to be translated into specific actions, such as establishing a truly national, integrated army.

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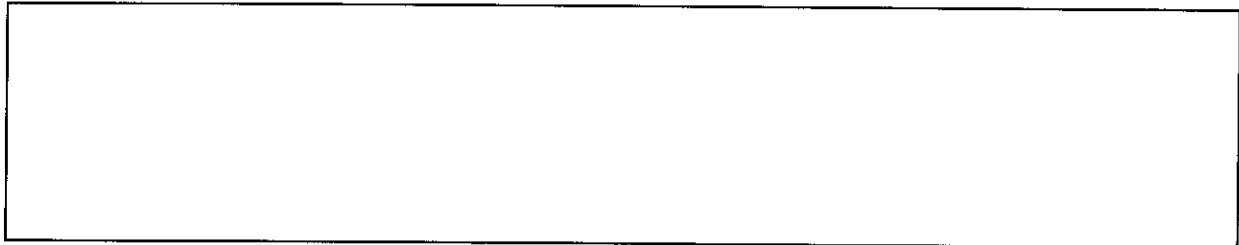
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- We have heard that you are broadening the base of government at the local level and integrating ex-FAR troops into the army. How are these efforts progressing?
- It is crucial that all elements of the government and military accept the fundamental principle of civilian control of the military. You are in a unique position to see that this message is heard and followed.
- To promote representative government, you must create a climate in which individuals and groups are willing to come forward and engage in a dialogue.
- We know your government has made overtures to moderates outside the country. We encourage you to continue reaching out to Rwandans in and outside Rwanda who share your goals of peace and reconciliation.

## Insecurity in the Refugee Camps

- We are very disturbed by the continuing violence and intimidation in the refugee camps. We agree that some action must be taken to enhance security.
- We have discussed this issue at length with the UN, other Security Council members, and members of the new "friends" group. We hope to have an agreed UN strategy very soon.
- We urge you to cooperate with your neighbors and continue regional discussions to address this crucial topic. What can you tell us about the tripartite meetings among the presidents and defense ministers of Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire?



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### III. BACKGROUND

Aid/GOR Performance. The GOR lacks staff, resources, and basic necessities, and will have World Bank arrears of \$9.5 million by mid-1995. In exchange for our assistance of \$2.5 million, the GOR agreed in principle to benchmarks on powersharing and human rights and to two conditions for aid: the naming of a human rights point person and a commitment to unimpeded access for UNAMIR and the human rights monitors. The

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GOR recently installed a new multiparty parliament, but the former ruling MRND party was excluded and the RPA was given six seats. A modest program to absorb some elements of the former government's army is underway; to date approximately 70 officers and 1500 soldiers have begun the process of integration into the RPA. The RPF's predominant role in the GOR and reports of RPA attacks on Hutus have caused donors to go slow in resuming bilateral aid. At the November 22 inaugural meeting of the Friends of Rwanda, no clear consensus emerged on appropriate conditionality on aid to the GOR. We have provided over \$250 million in humanitarian aid, not counting DoD in-kind costs for Operation Support Hope. We are procuring \$600,000 in basic equipment for the Ministries of Justice and Interior. AID plans to provide \$4 million to several key ministries to make them operational, with money for equipment, technical services, and rebuilding of physical infrastructure.

Cooperation with UN Efforts: UNAMIR is essentially at full strength, with over 5,500 troops and over 400 observers and police. RPA soldiers have denied UNAMIR access to sites in a few cases, and UNAMIR/RPA relations have been tense at times. There are about 62 UN human rights monitors, and the UN reports that 100 monitors will be deployed in country by December 31. We are providing a broadcasting unit for UNAMIR's planned radio station, which would broadcast unbiased information on conditions in Rwanda, countering propaganda in the camps. Prime Minister Twagiramungu, in his November 30 meeting with you, pledged that the GOR would grant broadcasting authority for this station. Although the GOR voted against the International Tribunal on Rwanda (ITR) because of the lack of a death penalty and other issues, GOR officials have indicated they will cooperate with the ITR. Chief Prosecutor Goldstone plans to visit Kigali On December 19-20. The U.S. will be seconding personnel and sending investigators for the effort.

Camp Closures: On November 10, the RPA forcibly closed a displaced persons (IDP) camp, firing shots and burning huts. They have closed other camps, without apparent incident, but future closures could spark more violence or a confrontation with UNAMIR. To forestall further forced closures, UNAMIR, key GOR ministries, and relief officials have put together a multistage plan for progressive, orderly and voluntary return of the displaced to their homes. Nevertheless, the plan has yet to get fully underway and the GOR has publicly reiterated that all IDP camps will be closed by the end of the year.

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Insecurity in Refugee Camps: About 2 million new (Hutu) refugees remain outside Rwanda. The ex-FAR and Hutu extremist militias are intimidating refugees and hindering repatriation. The Security Council is awaiting additional information on the options outlined by the Secretary General; we favor a modest (3000 person) force to provide security for relief operations and a temporary security bubble to facilitate refugee return. Some interim measure, such as a contract guard force, may be required, and efforts to establish a political dialogue and improve security conditions inside Rwanda would probably be undertaken simultaneously. The OAU and UNHCR plan a regional refugee conference early next year; security is expected to be a key topic.

Political Reconciliation: The GOR has said it will not negotiate with anyone implicated in the genocide. This would include most if not all of the current "government-in-exile" in Zaire. They did invite some moderate members of the Habyarimana government into the coalition but these overtures were rebuffed. A number of human rights groups and others are of the opinion that moderate Hutus within Rwanda who could be viable interlocutors with the GOR are presently too afraid to come forward due to the security situation inside Rwanda.

Attachments:

Biographic Information

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